INSURANCE.

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The Bombay Chronicle

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INSURANCE.

Will Millowners put into practice their own receive to help Indian Insurance Companies!

BOMBAY SUNDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1929. PRICE ONE ANNA

INDIA'S MARCH TO INDEPENDENCE.

"Open Conspiracy To Free The Country."

"We have now an open conspiracy to free the country from foreign rule, and you, comrades, and all our countrymen and countrywomen are invited to join it."

—From President's address

NO DICTATION FROM PARLIAMENT.

No Unlimited Liability For Government Debts.

CONGRESS PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who succeeds his father as President of the Indian National Congress.

Pandit Motilal Nehru, the retiring President of the Indian National Congress.

....."We have now an open conspiracy to free the country from foreign rule, and you, comrades, and all our countrymen and country-women are invited to join it." In these stirring words in his presidential address at the forty-fourth session of the Indian National Congress Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru appeals to the Congress and the country to make a supreme effort to shake off the yoke of foreign domination. He makes out a relentlessly logical case for complete independence as the birthright and the goal of the country independence as "complete freedom from from British domination and British imperialism", and adds: This Congress has not acknowledged and will not acknowledge the right of the British Parliament to dictate to us in any way." He also warns the British Government that "India will no' accept responsibility for all the debts that England has piled on her." As he clams full Self-determination for British India he claims as much for the Indian States and says: "The Indian States cannot live apart from the rest of India and their Rulers must, unless they accept their inevitable limitations, go the way of others who thought like them".

As regards the programme of action, Pundit Jawaharlal recommends the continuance of the constructive programme with special reference to the boycott of foreign cloth and British goods, a thorough organisation of workers and peasants, and a modified form of Non-violent Non-cooperation including the boycott of Councils and, when the time is ripe, Civil Disobedience.

Referring to the communal problem, Pandit Jawaharlal says that the problem is due mainly to needless fear and distrust, that "logic and cold reason are not weapons to fight fear and distrust" and that only faith annd generosity can overcome them". He urges on the Hindus that "it should be their privilege to take the lead in generosity." .....

"We must make it clear that India will not accept responsibility for all the debts that England has piled on her."

—From the President's address.

"Our endeavour must be to reduce all points of contact with the British Government and to rely on ourselves."

—From the President's address.

"This Congress has not acknowledged and will not acknowledge the right of the British Parliament to dictate to us in any way."

—From the President's address.

The following is the English rendering of the Presidential address of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru delivered in Hindustani at the 44th Session of the Indian National Congress at Lahore on Sunday the 29th:—

Comrades,—For four and forty years this National Congress has laboured for the freedom of India. During this period it has somewhat slowly, but surely, awakened national consciousness from its long stupor and built up the national movement. If, today we are gathered here at a crisis of our destiny, conscious of our strength as well as of our weakness, and looking with hope and apprehension to the future, it is well that we give first thought to those who have gone before us and who spent out their lives with little hope of reward so that those that followed them may have the joy of achievement. Many of the giants of old are not with us and we of a later day, standing on an eminence of their creation may often decry their efforts. That is the way of the world. But none of you can forget them or the great work they did in laying the foundations of a free India. And none of us can ever forget that glorious band of men and women who, without recking the consequences have laid down their young lives or spent their bright youth in suffering and torment in utter protest against a foreign domination. Many of their names even are not known to us. They laboured and suffered in silence without any expectation of public applause, and by their hearts blood they nursed the tender plant of India's freedom. While many of us temporised and compromised, they stood up and proclaimed a people's right to freedom and declared to the world that India, even in her degradation, had the spark of life in her, because she refused to submit to tyranny and serfdom. Brick by brick has our national movement been built up, and often on the prostrate bodies of her martyred sons has India advanced. The giants of old may not be with us, but the courage of old is with us still and India can yet produce martyrs like Jatindas and Wizaya.

This is the glorious heritage that we have inherited and you wish to put me in charge of it? I know well that I occupy this honoured place by chance more than by your deliberate design. Your desire was to choose another—one who towers above all others in this present day world of ours—and there could have been no wiser choice. But fate and he conspired together and thrust me against your will and mine into this terrible seat of responsibility. Should I express my gratitude to you for having placed me in this dilemma? But I am grateful indeed for your confidence in one who strangely lacks it himself.

CHANGING WORLD.

You will discuss many vital national problems that face us today and your decision may change the course of Indian history. But you are not the only people that are faced with the problem. The whole world to-day is one vast question mark and every country and every people is in the melting pot. The age of faith, with the comfort and stability it brings, is past and there is question about everything, however, permanent or sacred it might have appeared to our forefathers. Everywhere there is doubt and restlessness and the foundations of the State and society are in process of transformation. Old established ideas of liberty, justice, property and even the family are being attacked and the outcome hangs in the balance. We appear to be in a dissolving period of history when the world is in labour and out of her travail will give birth to a new order.

IDDIA'S PART.

No one can say what the future will bring, but we may assert with some confidence that Asia, and even India, will play a determining part in future world policy. The brief day of European domination is already approaching its end. Europe has ceased to be the centre of activity and interest. The future lies with America and Asia. Owing to false and incomplete history many of us have been led to think that Europe has always dominated over the rest of the world, and Asia has always let the legions of the West thunder past and had plunged in thought again. We have forgotten that for millennia the legions of Asia overran Europe and modern Europe itself largely consists of the descendants of these invaders from Asia. We have forgotten that it was India that finally broke the military power of Alexander. Thought has undoubtedly been the glory of Asia and specially of India, but in the field of action the record of Asia has been equally great. But none of us desires that the legions of Asia or Europe should overrun the continents again. We have all had enough of them.

India to-day is a part of a world movement. Not only China, Turkey, Persia and Egypt, but also Russia and the countries of the West are taking part in this movement, and India cannot isolate herself from it. We have our own problems—difficult and intricate—and we cannot run away from them and take shelter in the wider problems that affect the world. But if we ignore the world we do so at our peril. Civilisation to-day, much as it is, is not the creation or monopoly of one people or nation. It is a composite fabric to which all countries have contributed and then have adapted to suit their particular needs. And if India has a message to give to the world, as I hope she has, she has also to receive and learn much from the messages of other peoples.

SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT.

When everything is changing it is well to remember the long course of Indian history. Few things in history are more amazing than the wonderful stability of the social structure in India which withstood the impact of numerous alien influences and thousands of years of change and conflict. It withstood them because it always sought to absorb them and tolerate them. Its aim was not to exterminate, but to establish an equilibrium between different cultures. Aryans and non-Aryans settled down together recognising each other's right to their culture, and outsiders who came like the Parsis, found a welcome and a place in the social order. With the coming of the Moslems, the equilibrium was disturbed, but India sought to restore it, and largely succeeded. Unhappily for us before we could adjust our differences, the political structure broke down, the British came and we fell.

Great as was the success of India in evolving a stable society she failed in a vital particular, and because she failed in this, she fell and remains fallen. No solution was found for the problem of eduality. India deliberately ignored this and built up her social structure on inequality and we have the tragic consequences of this policy in the millions of our people who till yesterday were suppressed and had little opportunity for growth.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

And yet when Europe fought her wars of religion and Christians massacred each other in the name of their Saviour, India was tolerant, although alas there is little of this toleration to-day. Having attained some measure of liberty, Europe sought after political liberty, and political and legal equality. Having attained these also she finds that they mean very little without economic liberty and equality. And so today politics have ceased to have much meaning and the most vital question is that of social and economic equality.

India also will have to find a solution to this problem and until she does so her political and social structure cannot have stability. That solution need not necessarily follow the example of any other country. It must, if it has to endure, be based on the genius of her people and be an outcome of her thought and culture. And when it is found, the unhappy duifferences between various communities, which trouble us to-day and keep back our freedom, will automatically disappear.

Indeed the real differences have already largely gone, but fear of each other and distrust and suspicion remain and sow seeds of discord. The problem is how to remove fear and suspicion and, being intangible, they are hard to get at. An earnest attempt was made to do so last year by the All-Parties committee and much progress was made towards the goal. But we must admit with sorrow that success has not wholly crowned its efforts. Many of our Muslim and Sikh friends have strenuously opposed the solutions suggested and passions have been roused over mathematical figures and percentages. Logic and cold reason are poor weapons to fight fear and distrust. Only faith and generosity can overcome them. I can only hope that the leaders of

(Continued on next page.)

"However golden the harvest and heavy the dividends, the mud huts and hovels and the nakedness of our people testify to the glory of the British Empire and of our present social system."

—From the President's address.

"The army of occupation holds our country in its iron grip and the whip of the master comes down on the best of us who dare to raise their heads."

—From the President's address.

Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, who seconded Mahatma Gandhi's Independence resolution.

Mahatma Gandhi, who has turned an ardent champion of Complete National Independence.

Dr. Kitchlew, Chairman of the Reception Committee, Lahore Congress.

INDIA'S MARCH TO INDEPENDENCE.

(Continued from previous page.)

"This Congress which claims Self-determination cannot deny it to the people of the States."

—From the President's address.

various communities will have this faith and generosity in ample measure. What shall we gain for ourselves or for our community if all of us are slaves in a slave country? And what can we loose if once we remove the shackles from India and can breath the air of freedom again? Do we want outsiders who are not of us and who have kept us in bondage, to be the protectors of our little rights and privileges, when they deny us the very right to freedom? No majority can crush a determined minority, and no minority can be sufficiently protected by a little addition to its seats in a legislature. Let us remember that in the world to-day, almost everywhere a very small minority holds wealth and power and dominates over the great majority.

PLEA FOR GENEROSITY.

I have no love for bigotry and dogmatism in religion and I am glad that they are weakening. Nor do I love communalism in any shape or form. I find it difficult to appreciate why political or economic rights should depend on the membership of a religious group or community. I can fully understand the right to freedom in religion and the right to one's culture, and in India specially, which has always acknowledged and granted these rights, it should be no difficult matter to ensure their continuance. We have only to find out some way whereby we may root out the fear and distrust that darken our horizon to-day. The politics of a subject race are largely based on fear and hatred and we have been too long under subjection to get rid of them easily.

I was born a Hindu, but I do not know how far I am justified in calling myself one or in speaking on benalf of Hindus. But births still count in this country and by right of birth I shall venture to submit to the leaders of the Hindus that it should be their privilege to take the lead in generosity. Generosity is not only good morals, but is often good politics and sound expediency. And it is inconceivable to me that in a free India the Hindus can ever be powerless. So far as I am concerned I would gladly ask our Muslim and Sikh friends to take what they will without protest or argument from me. I know that the time is coming soon when these labels and appellations will have little meaning and when our struggle will be on an economic basis. Meanwhile it matters little what our mutual arrangements are, provided only that we do not build up barriers which will come in the way of our future progress.

TOWARDS THE GOAL.

The time has indeed already come when the All-Parties' Report has to be put aside and we march forward unfettered to our goal. You will remember that the resolution of the last Congress fixed a year of grace for the adoption of the All-Parties' scheme. That year is nearly over and the natural issue of that decision is for this Congress to declare in favour of independence and devise sanctions to achieve it.

That year has not brought Dominion Status or the All-Parties' Constitution. It has brought instead suffering and greater repression of our national and labour movements, and how many of our comrades are to-day forcibly kept away from us by the alien power? How many of them suffer exile in foreign countries and are refused facilities to return to their motherland. The army of occupation holds our country in its iron grip and the whip of the master is ever ready to come down on the best of us who dare to raise their heads. The answer to the Calcutta resolution has been clear and definite.

"The Indian States cannot live apart from the rest of India and their Rulers must, unless they accept their inevitable limitations, go the way of others who thought like them."

—From the President's address.

VICEROY'S ANNOUNCEMENT.

Recently there have been a seeming offer of peace. The Viceroy has, stated on behalf of the British Government that the leaders of Indian opinion will be invited to confer with the Government on the subject of India's future constitution. The Viceroy meant well and his language was the language of peace. But even a Viceroy's goodwill and courteous phrases are poor substitutes for the hard facts that confront us. We have sufficient experience of the devious ways of British diplomacy to beware of it. The offer which the British Government made was vague and there was no commitment or promise of performance. Only by the greatest stretch of imagination could it be interpreted as a possible response to the Calcutta resolution. Many leaders of various political parties met together soon after and considered it. They gave it the most favourable interpretation for they desired peace and were willing to go half way to meet it. But in courteous language they made clear what the vital conditions for its acceptance were. Many of us who believed in independence and were convinced that the offer was only a device to lead us astray and create division in our ranks, suffered bitter anguish and were torn with doubt. Were we justified in precipitating a terrible national struggle with all its inevitable consequences of suffering for many when there was even an outside chance of honourable peace? With much searching of heart we signed that manifesto and I know not to-day if we did right or wrong. Later came the explanations and amplifications in the British Parliament and elsewhere and all doubt, if doubt there was, was removed as to be true significance of the offer. Even so your Working Committee chose to keep open the door of negotiation and left it to this Congress to take the final decision.

During the last few days there has been another discussion of this subject in the British House of Commons and the Secretary of ate for India has endeavoured to point out that successive British Governments have tried to prove, not only by words but by deeds also, the sincerity of their faith in regard to India. We must recognise Mr. Wedgwood Benn's desire to do something for India and his anxiety to secure the goodwill of the Indian people. But his speech and the other speeches made in Parliament carry us no further. "Dominion Status in action" to which he draws attention has been a snare for us and has certainly not reduced the exploitation of India. The burden on the Indian masses are even greater to-day, because of this "Dominion Status in action" and the so-called constitutional reforms of ten years ago. High Commissioners in London, and representatives of the League of Nations and the purchase of stores, and Indian Governors and high officials are no parts of our demand. We want to put an end to the exploitation of India's poor and to get the reality of power and not merely the livery of office. Mr. Wedgwood Benn has given us a record of the achievement of the past decade. He could have added to it by referring to Martial Law in the Punjab and the Jallianwala Bagh shooting and the repression and exploitation that have gone on continually during this period of "Dominion Status in action". He has given us some insight into what more of Dominion Status may mean for us. It will mean the shadow of authority to a handful of Indians and more repression and exploitation of the masses.

INDEPENDENCE INVESTABLE.

What will this Congress do? The conditions for co-operation remain unfulfilled. Can we co-operate so long as there is no guarantee that real freedom will come to us? Can we co-operate when our comrades lie in prison and repression continues? Can we co-operate until we are assured that real peace is sought after and not merely a tactical advantage over us? Peace cannot come at the point of the bayonet, and if we are to continue to be dominated over by an alien people, let us at least be no consenting parties to it.

If the Calcutta resolution holds, we have but one goal to-day, that of independence. Independence is not a happy word in the world to-day, for it means exclusiveness and isolation. Civilisation has had enough of narrow nationalism and gropes towards a wider co-operation and inter-dependence. And if we use the word independence we do so in no sense hostile to the larger ideal. Independence for us means complete freedom from British domination and British imperialism. Having attained our freedom I have no doubt that India will welcome all attempts at world-co-operation and federation, and will even agree to give up part of her own independence to a larger group of which she is an equal member.

BRITISH IMPERIALISM.

The British Empire to-day is not such a group and cannot be so long as it dominates over millions of people and holds large areas of the world's surface despite the will of their inhabitants. It cannot be a true commonwealth so long as imperialism is its basis and the exploitation of other races its chief means of sustenance. The British Empire to-day is indeed gradually undergoing a process of political dissolution. It is in a state of unstable equilibrium. The Union of South Africa is not a very happy member of the family, nor is the Irish Free State, a willing one. Egypt drifts away. India could never be an equal member of the Commonwealth unless imperialism and all it implies is discarded. So long as this is not done, India's position in the Empire must be one of subservience and her exploitation will continue. The embrace of the British Empire is a very dangerous thing. It is not and cannot be the life-giving embrace of affection freely given and returned. And if it is not that, it will be, what it has been in the past, the embrace of death.

There is talk of world peace and pacts have been signed by the nations of the world. But despite pacts armaments grow and beautiful language is the only homage that is paid to the goddess of peace. So long as there is domination of one country by another, or the exploitation of one class by another there will always be attempts to subvert the existing order and no stable equilibrium can endure. Out of imperialism and capitalism peace can never come. And it is because the British Empire stands for these and bases itself on the exploitation of the masses that we can find no willing place in it. No gain that may come to us is worth anything unless it helps in removing the grievous burdens on our masses. The weight of a great Empire is heavy to carry and for long our people have endured it. Their backs are bent down and their spirit has almost broken. How will they share in the Commonwealth partnership if the burden of exploitation continues. Many of the problems we have to face are the problems of vested interests, mostly created or encouraged by the British Government. The interests of the Rulers of Indian States, of British Officials and British Capital and Indian capital and of the owners of big Zamindaris are ever thrust upon us and they clamour for protection. The unhappy millions who really need protection are almost voiceless and have no advocates. So long as the British Empire continues in India, in whatever shape it may do so it will strengthen these vested interests and create more. And each one of them will be a fresh obstacle in our way. Of necessity the Government has to rely on oppression and the symbol of its rule is the secret service with its diabolical and contemptible train of "agents provacateurs" informers and approvers.

A TEST.

We have had much controversy about independence and Dominion Status and we have quarrelled about words. But the real thing is the conquest of power by whatever name it may be called. I do not think that any form of Dominion Status applicable to India will give us real power. A test of this power would be the entire withdrawal of the alien army of occupation and economic control. Let us therefore concentrate on these and the rest will follow easily.

"The British Empire to-day is indeed gradually undergoing a process of political dissolution."

—From the President's address.

We stand therefore to-day for the fullest freedom of India. This Congress has not acknowledged and will not acknowledge the right of the British Parliament to dicate to us in any way. To it we make no appeal. But we do appeal to the Parliament and the conscience of the world, and to them we shall declare, I hope that India submits no longer to any foreign domination. To-day or to-morrow, we may not be strong enough to assert our will. We are very conscious of our weakness, and there is no boasting in us or pride of strength. But let no one, least of all England, mistake or under-rate the meaning or strength of our resolve Solemnly, with full knowledge of consequences I hope, we shall take it and there will be no turning back. A great nation cannot be thwarted for long when once its mind is clear and resolved. If to-day we fail and to-morrow brings no success, the day after will follow and bring achievement.

NO SURRENDER.

We are weary of strife and hunger for peace and opportunity to work constructively for our country. Do we enjoy the breaking up of our homes and the sight of our brave youngmen going to prison or facing the halter? Does the worker like going on strike and loosing even his miserable pittance and starving? He does so by sheer compulsion when there is no other way for him. And we who take this perilous path of national strife do so because there is no other way to an honourable peace. But we long for peace, and the hand of fellowship will always be stretched out to all who may care to grasp it. But behind the hand will be a body which will not bend to injustice and a mind that will not surrender on any vital point.

With the struggle before us the time for determining our future constitution is not yet. For two years or more we have drawn up constitutions and finally the All-Parties Committee put a crown to these efforts by drawing up a scheme of its own which the Congress adopted for a year. The labour that went to the making of this scheme was not wasted and India has profited by it. But the year is past and we have to face new circumstances which require action rather than constitution making. Yet we cannot ignore the problems that beset us and that will make or mar our struggle and our future constitution. We have to aim at social adjustment and equilibrium and to overcome the forces of disruption that have been the bane of India.

SOCIALIST IDEAL.

I must frankly confess that I am a socialist and a republican and am no believer in kings and princes, or in the order which produces the modern kings of industry, who have greater power over the lives and fortunes of men than even kings of old, and whose methods are predatory as those of the old feudal aristocracy. I recognise however that it may not be possible for a body constituted as is this National Congress and in the present circumstances of the country, to adopt the full socialistic programme. But we must realise that the philosophy

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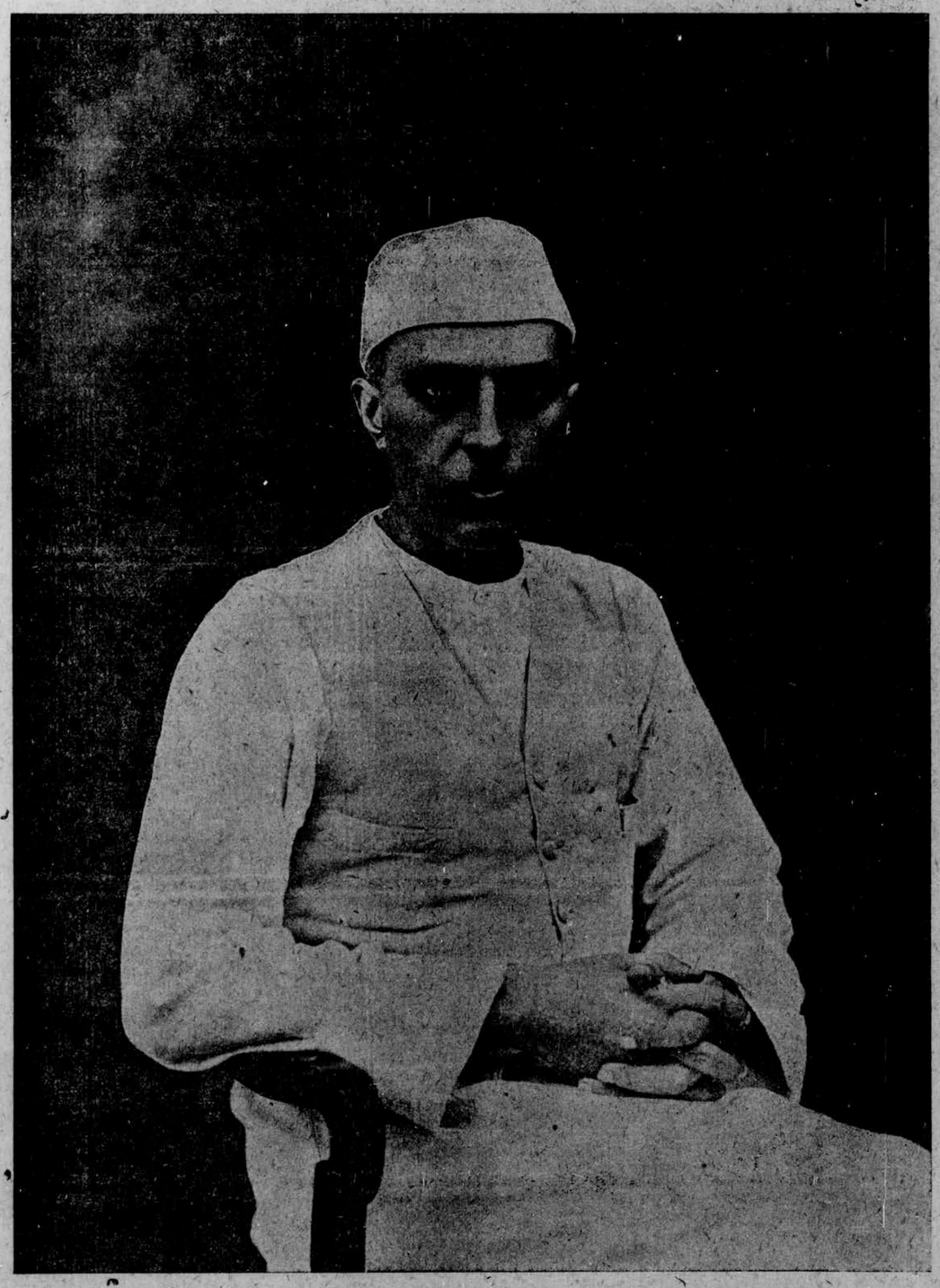
"The whole world to-day is a vast question mark and every country and every people is in the melting pot."

—From the President's address.

PILOT AT THE HELM



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, P resident-elect of the Indian Natio nal Congress.

Digitized with financial assistance from the Government of Maharashtra

on 14 April, 2017

SOCIALIST IDEAL FOR CONGRESS.

Pt. Jawaharlal Outlines Programme For Country.

(Continued from previous page.)

of socialism has gradually pre-meated the entire structure of society the world over and almost the only point in dispute is the pace and methods of advance to its full realisation. India will have to go that way too if she seeks to end her poverty and inequality, though she may evolve her own methods and may adapt the ideal to the genius of her race.

We have three major problems —the minorities, the Indian States, and labour and peasantry. I have dealt already with the question of minorities. I shall only repeat that we must give the fullest assurance by our words and our deeds that their culture and traditions will be safe.

INDIAN STATES.

The Indian States, even for India, are the most curious relics of a bygone age. Many of their ruiers apparently still believe in the divine right of kings —puppet kings though they be— and consider the State and all it contains to be their personal property, which they can squander at will. A few of them have a sense of responsibility and have endeavoured to serve their people, but many of them have hardly any redeeming feature. It is perhaps unjust to blame them, for they are but the products of a vicious system and it is the system that will ultimately have to go. One of the rulers has frankly told us that even in case of war between India and England, he will stand for England and fight against his mother country. That is the measure of his patriotism. It is not surprising then that they claim, and their claim finds acceptance with the British Government that they alone can represent their subjects at any conference and no one even of their subjects may have any say. The Indian States cannot live apart from the rest of India and their rulers must, unless they accept their inevitable limitations, go the way of others who thought like them. And the only people who have a right to determine the future of the States must be the people of those States, including the rulers. This Congress which claims self-determination cannot deny it to the people of the States. Meanwhile the Congress is perfectly willing to confer with such rulers as are prepared to do so and to devise means whereby the transition may not be too sudden. But in no event can the people of the States be ignored.

LABOUR.

Our third major problem is the biggest of all. For India means the peasantry and labour and to the extent that we raise them and satisfy their wants will we succeed in our task. And the measure of the strength of our national movement will be the measure of their adherance to it. We can only gain them to our side by espousing their cause which is really the country's cause. The Congress has often expressed its goodwill towards them, but beyond that it has not gone. The Congress, it is said, must hold the balance fairly between capital and labour and Zamindar and tenant.

But the balance has been and is terribly weighted on one side and to maintain the status quo is to maintain injustice and exploitation. The only way to right it is to do away with the domination of any one class over another. The All-India Congress Committee accepted this idea of social and economic change in a resolution it passed some months ago in Bombay. I hope the Congress will also set its seal on it and will further draw up a programme of such changes as can be immediately put in operation.

In this programme perhaps the Congres as a whole cannot go very far to-day. But it must keep the ultimate ideal in view and work for it. The question is not one merely of wages and charity doled out by an employer or land-lord. Paternalism in industry or in the land is but a form of charity with all its sting and its utter incapacity to root out the evil. The new theory of trusteeship, which some advocates, is equally barren. For trusteeship means that the power for good or evil remains with the self-appointed trustee and he may excercise it as he will. The sole trusteeship that can be fair is the trusteeship of the nation and not of one individual or a group. Many Englishmen honestly consider themselves the trustees for India, and yet to what a condition they have reduced our country.

HUMAN INTERESTS FIRST.

We must decide for whose benefit Industry must be run and the land produce food. To-day the abundance that the land produces is not for the peasant or the labourer who works on it; and industry's chief function is supposed to be to produce millionairs. However golden the harvests and heavy the dividends, the mud huts and hovels and nakedness of our people testify to the glory of the British Empire and of our present social system.

Our economic programme must therefore be based on a human outlook and must not sacrifice man to money. If an industry cannot be run without starving its workers then the industry must be closed down. If the workers on the land have not enough to eat then the intermediaries who deprive them of their full share must go. The least that every worker in the field or factory is tntitled to is a minimum wage which will enable him to live in moderate comfort, and human hours of labour which do not break his strength and spirit. The All Parties Committee accepted the principle and included it in their recommendations. I hope the Congress will also do so and will in addition be prepared to accept its natural consequences. Further than that, it will adopt the well-known demands of labour for a better life, and will give every assistance to it to organise itself and prepare itself for the day when it can control industry on a co-operative basis.

OUR PEASANT CLASS.

But industrial labour is only a small part of India although it is rapidly becoming a force that cannot be ignored. It is the peasantry that cry loudly and piteously for relief and our programme must deal with their present condition. Real relief can only come by a great change in the land laws and the basis of the present system of land tenure. We have among us many big landowners and we welcome them. But they must realise that the ownership of large estates by individuals, which is the outcome of a state resembling the old feudalism of Europe, is a rapidly disappearing phenomenon all over the world. Even in countries which are the strongholds of capitalism, the large estates are being split up and given to the peasantry who work on them. In India also we have large areas where the system of peasant proprietorship prevails and we shall have to extend this all over the country. I hope that in doing so we may have the co-operation of some at least of the big landowners.

It is not possible for this Congress at its annual session to draw up any detailed economic programme. It can only lay down some general principles and call upon the All-India Congress Committee to fill in the details in co-operation with the representatives of the Trade Union Congress and other organisations which are vitally interested in this matter. Indeed I hope that the co-operation between this Congress and The Trade Union Congress will grow and the two organisations will fight side by side in future struggles.

CONQUEST OF POWER.

All these are pious hopes till we gain power, and the real problem therefore before us is the conquest of power. We shall not do so by subtle reasoning or argument or lawyers' quibbles, but by the forging of sanction to enforce the nation's will. To that end this Congress must address itself.

The past year has been one of preparation for us and we have made every effort to reorganise and strengthen the Congress organisation. The results have been considerable and our organisation is in a better state to-day than at any time since the reaction which followed the non-co-operation movement. But our weaknesses are many and are apparent enough. Mutual strife, even within Congress Committees, is unhappily too common and election squabbles drain all our strength and energy. How can we fight a great fight if we cannot get over this ancient weakness of ours and rise above our petty selves? I earnestly hope that with a strong programme of action before the country our perspective will improve and we will not tolerate this barren and demoralising strife.

METHODS OF AGITATION.

What can this programme be? Our Choice is limited, not by our own constitution which can change at our will, but by facts and circumstances. Article one of our constitution lays down that our methods must be legitimate and peaceful. Legitimate I hope they will always be, for we must not sully the great cause for which we stand by any deed that will bring dishonour to it and that we many ourselves regret later. Peaceful I should like them to be for the methods of peace are more desirable and more enduring than those of violence. Violence too often brings reaction and demoralisation in its train, and in our country especially it may lead to disruption. It is perfectly true that organised violence rules the world to-day and it may be that we could profit by its use. But we have not the material or the training for organised violence and individual or sporadic violence is a confession of despair. The great majority of us, I take it, judge the issue not on moral but on practical grounds, and if we reject the way of violence it is because it promises no substantial results. But if this Congress or the nation at any future time comes to the conclusion that methods of violence will rid us of slavery, then, I have no doubt that it will adopt them. Violence is bad but slavery is far worse. Let us also remember that the great apostle of non-violence has himself told us that it is better to fight than to refuse to fight out of cowardice.

Any great movement for liberation to-day must neeessarily be a mass movement and mass movements must essentially be peaceful, except in times of organised revolt. Whether, we have the non-co-operation of a decade ago or the modern industrial weapon of the general strike, the basis is peaceful organisation and peaceful action. And if the principal movement is a peaceful one, contemporaneous attempts at sporadic violence can only distract attention and weaken it. It

> "Independence means for us complete freedom from British domination and British imperialism."
>
> —From the President's address.

is not possible to carry on at one and the same time the two movements side by side. We have to choose and strictly to abide by our choice. What the choice of this Congress is likely to be I have no doubt. It can only choose a peaceful mass movement.

Should we repeat the programme and tactics of the non-co-operation movement? Not necessarily, but the basic idea must remain. Programmes and tactics must be made to fit in with circumstances and it is neither easy nor desirable for this Congress at this stage to determine them in detail. That should be the work of its executive, the All India Congress Committee. But the principles have to be fixed.

The old programme was one of the three boycotts-Councils law courts and Schools—leading up to refusal of service in the army and non-payment of taxes. When the national struggle is at its height I fail to see how it will be possible for any person engaged in it to continue in the courts or the schools. But still I think that it will be unwise to declare a boycott of the courts and schools at this stage.

BOYCOTT OF LEGISLATIVES.

The boycott of the Legislative Councils has led to much heated debate in the past and this Congress itself has been rent in twain over it. We need not revive that controversy for the circumstances to-day are entirely different. I feel that the step the Congress took some years ago to permit Congressmen to enter the Councils was an inevitable step and I am not prepared to say that some good has not resulted from it. But we have exhausted that good and there is no middle course left to-day between Boycott and full co-operation. All of us know the demoralisation that these sham legislatures have brought in our ranks and now many of our good men their committees and commissions lure away. Our workers are limited in number and we can have no mass movement unless they concentrate on it and turn their back to the palatial Council Chambers of our Legislatures. And if we declare for independence how can we enter the Councils and carry on our humdrum and profitless activities there. No programme or policy can be laid down for ever, nor can this Congress bind the country or even itself to pursue one line of action indefiniely. But to-day I would respectfully urge the Congress that the only policy in regard to the Councils is a complete boycott of them. The All-India Congress Committee recommended this course in July last and the time has come to give effect to it.

This boycott will only be a means to an end. It will release energy and divert attention to the real struggle which must take the share of the non-payment of taxes, where possible, with the co-operation of the labour movements, general strikes. But non-payment of taxes must be well organised in specific areas, and for his purpose the Congress should authorise the All-India Congress Committee to take the necessary action wherever and whenever it considers desirable.

I have not so far referred to the constructive programme of the Congress. This should certainly continue but the experience of the last few years shows us that by itself it does not carry us swiftly enough. It prepared the ground for future action and ten years silent work is bearing fruit to-day. In particular we shall, I hope, continue our boycott of foreign cloth and the boycott of British goods.

QESTION OF DEBTS.

Our programme must therefore, be one of political and economic boycott. It is not possible for us, so long as we are not actually independent, and not even then completely, to boycott another country wholly or to sever all connection with it. But our endeavour must be to reduce all points of contact with the British Government and to rely on ourselves. We must also make it clear that India will not accept responsibility for all the debts that England has piled on her. The Gaya Congress repudiated liability to these debts and we must repeat this repudiation and stand by it. Such of India's public debt as has been used for purposes beneficial to India we are prepared to admit and pay back. But we wholly deny all

> "I shall venture to submit to the leaders of the Hindus that it should be their privilege to take the lead in generosity."
>
> —From the President's address.

liability to pay back the vast sums which has been raised so that India may be held in subjection and her burdens be increased. In particular the poverty striken people of India cannot agree to shoulder the burden of the wars fought by England to extend her domain and consolidate her position in India. Nor can they accept the many concessions lavishly bestowed without any proper compensation on foreign exploiters.

I have not referred so far to the Indians overseas and I do not propose to say much about them. This is not from any want of fellow feeling with our brethren in East Africa or South Africa or Fiji or elsewhere, who are bravely struggling against great odds. But their fate will be decided in the plains of India and the struggle we are launching into is as much for them as for ourselves.

EFFICIENT MACHINERY NECESSARY.

For this struggle, we want efficient machinery. Our Congress constitution and organisation have become too archaic and slow moving and are ill-suited to times of crisis. The times of great demonstrations are past. We want quiet and irresistible action now and this can only be brought about by the strictest discipline in our ranks. Our resolutions must be passed in order to be acted upon. The Congress will gain in strength, however, small its aqual membership may become if it acts in a disciplined way. Small determined minorities have changed the fate of nations. Mobs and crowds can do little. Freedom itself involves restraint and discipline and each one of us will have to subordinate himself to the larger good.

EVER SUPREME ENDEAVOUR.

The Congress represents no small minority in the country, and though many may be too weak to join it or to work for it, they look to it with hope and longing to bring them deliverance. Ever since the Calcutta resolution, the country has waited with anxious expectation for this great day when this Congress meets. None of us can say what and when we can achieve. We cannot command success. But success often comes to those who dare and act; it seldom goes to the timid who are ever afraid of the consequences. We play for high stakes; and if we seek to achieve great things it can only be through great dangers. Whether we succeed soon or late, none but ourselves can stop us from high endeavour and from writing a noble page in our country's long and splendid history.

We have conspiracy cases going on in various parts of the country. They are ever with us. But the time has gone for secret conspiracy. We have now an open conspiracy to free this country from foreign rule, and you comrades, and all our countrymen and countrywomen are invited to join it. But the rewards that are in store for you are suffering and prison, and it may be death. But you shall also have the satisfaction that you have done your little bit for India, the ancient, but ever young and have helped a little in the liberation of humanity from its present bondage.

DR. KITCHLEW'S WELCOME ADDRESS.

—:o:—

WARNING TO BRITAIN.

LAJPATRAINAGAR, Dec. 29.

The following is a summary of the address of Dr. Kitchlew, Chairman, Reception Committee, 44th Indian National Congress:—

Comrades.—On behalf of the Reception Committee, I extend to you a most cordial welcome to this the 44th Session of the Indian National Congress. The Working Committee under the able guidance of its indefatigable Secretary Dr. Gopichand, has worked day and night without giving rest to its members and aided by the selfless devotion of noble band of workers and volunteers has been able to achieve all that you see in the Lajpatrai Nagar. Their chief aim has been to pay greater attention to your ease, comfort and convenience than to the mere spectacular side of the arrangements. The Committee had to work under great and unspeakable difficulties created by man and nature and I beg of you to accept these arrangements in a generous and brotherly sportsmanlike spirit and to forgive us for any shortcomings that you might pick up here and there.

IMPACT WITH BRITAIN.

Friends, we have come to the most critical stage of our national struggle—the struggle for India's freedom. It is necessary for us at the present juncture, therefore, to take stock of our position and analyse the forces that are working for and against us with a view to understand the real meaning of our struggle, and by putting our heads together to chalk out a proper programme for the attainment of our object. The British came to our country as traders and merchants with the sole object of making money and getting rich as quickly as possible. They did not come with the intention of conquering India. The conquest in fact came to them only as a matter of "accident." When the British adventurers first came in touch with our country they found its people rich and civilised far above any other country in the world. Our manufactures were well-known in Asia, Africa and Europe. Our cotton and silk goods, shawls, muslins and rugs could easily find a market in all countries. Our jewellery, pottery, metal works and lapidary works were looked upon with an eye of envy and were a source of great income to our country. Similarly our surplus grain, spices, and other products were eagerly awaited in many parts of the world. There was a unique taste and rare art exhibited in our Swadeshi products which made an irresitible appeal to the aesthetic sense of our customers and touched their pockets in no small measure. The stories of the fabulous wealth of our country attracted the attention of the English adventurers and brought them down to our shores. But this state of her civilisation was not new to Inda, finding its highest development under the Moghul Emperors. It had been in existence here, for God knows how many thousands of years, before the British came to India or the Moghuls established their sway. "Powerful Empires" said the great Imperialist, Lord Curzon at the Delhi Durbar of 1901, "existed and flourished here (in India) while Englishmen were still wandering painted in the woods and while the British colonies were still a wilderness and a jungle. India has left a deeper mark upon the history, the philosophy and the religion of mankind, than any other terestrial unit in the universe."

OUR SHAME.

Thus, India at the time of the advent of the East India Company was one of the wealthiest countries in the world though politically in a decaying condition which affected only the Central Government. The political decay and downfall were brought about by a series of events in rapid succession. This gave a chance to the East India Company of English merchants who currying favour with this or that potentate and playing one against the other were able to gain their success. Let it be said for the English men—they came, they saw, they conquered—But let it be said for our utter shame that this conquest was brought about mainly with the help of our men and money.

"DECEIT, TREACHERY, TERRORISM."

The East India Company busied itself in making its position politically secure and carried on a ruthless campaign of economic exploitation. By deceit, by treachery and by systematic terrorism, the wealth of India began to be exported. The great accumulation of Indian wealth in England gave a tremendous impetus to the industrialisation of that country. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, England became at once a producer of goods and began to flood the world with the British made textile, metal and other articles. What happened in India? Well, the story is simple. England wanted markets for her cheap machine made goods. And there could be no better or more paying market than India with her teeming millions of inhabitants for the consumption of England's manufactures. Here the East India Company became all powerful, and its officers laid no pretention to scruples. The old historic and the most artistic industries of our country were mercilessly destroyed as it were at the point of the boyonet. India was forcibly reduced to a position of an exporter of raw materials and importer of cheap British goods. Believe me, friends, I am not writing fiction. The facts are borne out by many European and even some conscientious English writers and the debates in the British Houses of Parliament and the despatches and correspondence of the Officers of the East India Company throw a flood of light on the most harrowing details of the misery, poverty and emasculation of the peoples of this country. No wonder there was discontent in the land, particularly among the labourers, workers and artisans in the towns. The peasants were not yet so sorely affected although they had begun to feel the pinch owing to the gradual loss of their cottage industry and export of their grain stuff. Some of the feudal chiefs of India who were feeling keenly the loss of their prestige, the loss of their wealth and influence rose in revolt and reduced the Indian Army in support of their cause. This led to what is called by some 'The First War of Independence and by others, the 'Sepoy Mutiny' of 1857. Let us not go into the heartrending details of those events. Suffice it to say that India was made safe for British Imperialism for a long time to com The Queen's proclamation promised much but gave nothing, and India was reduced to a position of a Dependency.

A NEW FEUDAL BOURGEOISIE.

Under the new dispensation, England was in need of supporters and apart from the Indian Princes who were brought under stringent control a new feudal bourgeoisie of leadlords was created. To carry on the work of administration need was felt to educate Indians in English, hence schools and colleges were gradually opened with a view to find recruitment of lowly paid clerks and officers holding subordinate posts in the judicial and executive departments. But care was taken to keep the strings of the bureaucracy in the hands of Englishmen forming the Indian Civil Service, which admittedly is the most expensive and highly paid agency in the world. A new form of bourgoisie of merchants was encouraged to spring up in India to work as agents on commission and brokerage, and assist the great capitalist concerns of England in their exploitation of the Indian masses. Side by side with this there came into existence a petty bourgeoisie of small traders and other interests who became willing tools in the hands of British imparialists. To further reduce the people of this land to a condition of abject slavery and helplessness we were deprived of the right of keeping arms, and a mercenary army was created to suppress and kill in us the spirit of resistance. The major portion of the Indian budget was earmarked for the upkeep of the army maintained ostensibly for the defence of the country but really to fight in the interests of while Imperialism in Asia, Africa and even in Europe as in the last Great War. Only in the last Great War in Europe 1914-18 India contributed 1,401,350 men (official figures) and was compelled to pay the terrible sum of £100,000,000 announced as a "gift" together with £100,000,000 paid in other ways under promises, threats and coercion."

HOW INDIA GETS RICH!

Under the British Crown, or to be more exact, under the control of the India Office and the centralised bureaucratic administration in this country large-scale capitalist enterprised came into play and with a net-work of Railways and communications the exploitation of India became both extensive and expansive and the condition of the people because worse. After the great war and with the rise of new condition British capital began to pour into this country for investment on a permanent basis, and English firms and companies for the first itme in the history of British connection, began to get themselves registered in India under assumed Indian names. All the great mills—cotton mills, jute mills, woollen mills and others are mainly run by foreign capital with a modicum of Indian money in some big cities. This is how India is getting rich! And this is how India's industries are being "nationalised" under the British Crown! As for the condition of the peasants who constitute 80 per cent of the population, let me quote to you the authoritative words of a statement :"As India must be bled", said Lord Salisbury, "the lancet should be directed to the parts where the blood is congested, or at least is sufficient; and not to those (the agricultural people) which are already feeble for the want of it."

"INDIA MUST BE BLED."

India must be bled. It sounds so brutal; but is an honest statement of fact. This is the keynote to all our troubles. India must be bled; hence British connection must be maintained and its people must remain as hewers of wood and drawers of water to serve the interests of white Imperialism. Yes India is bled—bled white. Her surface wealth is gone. Her resources are being tapped and her latent and hidden treasures are exploited by the forces of Imperialism. India of to-day is the home of poor peasants, and workers and labourers and the unemployed constitute more than 90 per cent. of its population. And what do they get under British domination? Poverty, unemployment, indebtedness, pestilence, disease, famine, starvation, death. The problem of our country, friends, is not religious or merely political. It is essentially economic. And we cannot bring about the economic salvation of our country without the sovereign control of its destinies in our hands.

CONGRESS 44 YEARS AGO.

44 years ago, some of our countrymen met together and laid the foundation of the Indian National Congress. They were great men, great pioneers of national cause. But governed by the circumstances of those days, they were really speaking, working in the interests of their class—the intellectual and professional class of India. Year after year, resolutions were repeatedly passed at the sessions of the Congress professing loyalty to the Crown and demanding greater and yet greater opportunities of co-operation with and service under the Government in its various departments of administration. Gradually subjects of wider importance also began to find a place in the discussions of the National Congress. But the Congressmen of the early days belonged mainly to the stratum of society representing the professional and intellectual classes of India. With due reference to their position, let me state frankly, that they did not represent the masses nor did they make any attempt to approach them, much less work among them, in order to organize them for the liberation of our country.

The position before the War was something like this:

1. The upper classes—the landlords and the wealthier elements were favoured by the bureaucrats, and were loyal supporters of British Imperialism;

2. The middle classes—particularly the lower middle class, representing the petty burgeoisie—of small traders and others—were showing signs of dissatisfaction owing to financial difficulties;

3. The National movement for all practical purposes was confined mainly to the educated and professional classes, such as lawyers and others, taking intelligent interest in the affairs of their country; and

4. The peasants and workers—although feeling the strain and stress of life most bitterly—were not yet awakened to active consciousness of their miserable existence.

MORAL OF THE WAR.

Then came the Great War with all its promises of "self-determination," the world to be made safe for Democracy, of equality of rights and status of individuals and nations—all these things were bound to create a revolution of ideas in the world, particularly among the exploited and down-trodden nations of the East. Ever since the victory of Japan over Russia the eastern nations were getting into that dangerous mood of preparing to free themselves from the soul-killing domination of Western Imperialism. The Russian Revolution, the Turkish Revolution, the Irish Revolution, the Persian, the Chinese, Egyptian and similar other Revolutions had their natural effect on the spirit of times. India was not to be an exception to the rule. Let us not forget that these Revolutions denote two important factors in the working of the present-day human mind. The world-wide awakening has been effected by the victory of Japan over Czarist Russia. India, too, has been impressed and stirred by the recent Revolutions that have taken place in different countries. During the war high hopes of equal status of justice and freedom within the Empire were aroused in some of us by the false and alluring promises made by Mr. Lloyd George and other British statesmen. England was eventualy saved, but India was disillusioned. That is the moral of the war.

THE ROWLATT ACT.

Meanwhile the Indian National Congress relying in the promises of British statesmen during the war, soon realised to its cost that these promises were nothing more than mere idle dreams. It became more and more

(Continued on next page.)

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THE JUPITER GENERAL means Insurance Protection. It's address in Fort, BOMBAY.

The Bombay Chronicle

FOUNDED BY SIR PHEROZE SHAH M. MEHTA IN 1913. REGD. NO. B 1068.

BOMBAY, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1929.

So Remember the JUPITER INSURANCE Co. When you think of Insurance.

BENEFITS OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

Dr. Kitchlew's Welcome Address At Lahore Congress.

(Continued from previous page.)

vocal and began to gather more strength on account of the discontent in the country. Something had to be done to placate the moderates and rally them round the stronghold of bureaucracy. Consequently the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme of Reforms was introduced in 1919.

There was a regular hue and cry raised throughout the country and flood-gates of criticism were opened against this ill-begotten scheme of "Reforms". The bureaucracy in India was alarmed. In order to kill the "extremism" in the country by means of further repression, it brought forth the ill-fated Rowlatt (the Black) Bill. Meetings were held all over the country and resolutions unanimously passed denouncing the new legislation. There was a tearing and raging agitation set on foot in the whole of India and the people were deeply stirred to action. Mahatma Gandhi as we all remember, came into the field, and under his great marvellous leadership the Satyagraha Campaign was launched. The Rowlatt legislation constituted political issue of the first magnitude, the Hindus and Muslims, classes and masses all joined the struggle for the national cause. It also showed that the so-called religious and communal differences were only skin deep. They were not real: they were not genuine. They were artificially kept up, and encouraged by interested parties and persons for their own selfish ends. This wonderful unity of national purpose and display of national interest gave a rude shock to the forces of Imperialism in India and the British Isles.

JULLIANWALA BAUGH INCIDENT.

In the name of "prestige" and in order to teach a "lesson" to the people of this country for having shown a spirit of revolt, the Government resorted to drastic measures of repression. Their aeroplanes threw bombs on the unsuspecting people, their soldiers had the audacity to uncover the veils of our women, their Dyers had the license of shooting into the crowds of innocent un-armed citizens gathered in a lawful meeting for the prosecution of lawful object. Their soldiers and military officers made the people to rub their noses against the ground, crawl on their bellies, and undergo the scourge of whipping. Our young men and students were ordered to fall in line and taken in marching procession over long distances in the burning heat of the sun in order to salute the Union Jack, the emblem of British Imperialism. These and many other unspeakable insults and injuries were made to India's manhood and its sense of self-respect. The ...wing patriotism of our country was put to a sore test: ...refused to be cowed down ... massacre of Jallianwalla ... and other brutal atrocities ...mitted by the strong arm of ...eaucracy in the name of law ...d order. The Reforms of 1919 ...ere declared by you at the time ...f the Amritsar Congress as disappointing, inadequate, and unsatisfactory, and you refused to believe in good the intention of Great Britain unless something real, something tangible was immediately done to pacify India and to show that England was after all sorry for her great sins of Commission and Ommission. But British Imperialism would not pay heed to your demands. On the contrary it set itself to have resort to questionable means and methods in order to hide its story of naked shame and moral degradation from the moral searching eyes of the world. The country once again, under the command of its verteran leaders, rose with a cry of non-co-operation. And what did the non-co-operation want? "The non-co-operators are at war with the Government," said Mahatmaji: "We want to overthrow the Government and compel its submission to the people's Will. We shall have to stagger humanity, even as South Africa and Ireland, with this exception, we will not spill our own blood, not that of our opponents. This is a fight to a finish." Again spoke Mahatmaji:—"I am a man of peace, but not of peace at any price—only of that peace which will enable us to stand up to the world as free men."

IN THROES OF REVOLUTION.

This talk of war, of overthrowing the Government, of spilling of blood (even our own blood), of fight to a finish, what did it all mean? India was in the throes of a mighty revolution, and the people as a whole gave splendid response to the call of revolution. Leaders and workers, men and women, young and old without any distinction of caste or creed gladly filled the jails of India,—of all parts of India—in their thousands and paid the penalty of deliberately violating the laws of a foreign bureaucratic system of Government. For two years at least we did stagger humanity and hook the foundations of Imperialism. But the war was unfortunately not to be fought to a finish. Something untoward happened at Chauri Chaura and one or two other places and there was a dead stop to our movement at the most psychological moment of its struggle for existence we simply refused to win the victory of which no power on earth could possibly have deprived us. The failure of our struggle for freedom was the result of our own making. It was naturally followed by terrible reaction. The spirit of discontent and disappointment caught hold of the imagination of the people, and by a campaign of subtle intrigues our country was divided. Our Moderate friends representing the burgeois interests of their classes raised their voice in favour of co-operation, and our communal leaders who were found openly assisting the Government in their policy of mad repression now posed themselves as champions of Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and other rights

The national forces of our country, in turn, became divided into different parties, groups, and factions of whole-hogging non-co-operators, Swarajists, and Responsive Co-operators. All this was due to my mind, to the lack of real, sound, political programme which would have made a direct appeal to the revolutionary spirit of the people, the masses, the workers and the peasants

TRANSITORY DIFFERENCES.

Friends, I have already stated that the so-called Hindu-Muslim differences are only transitory, ephemeral. They are the result of a tremendous reaction. They have no backbone, no legs to stand upon. If we had only left them alone to die their natural death, the cause of National India would not have suffered much. But goaded by the taunts of the bureaucrats, we tried to solve them. Our All Party Conference have done us no good. On the contrary, by giving a status to rank communalists, they have done immeasurable harm to the political movement. The Nehru Committee appointed by the Congress did all in its power to bring about amicable settlement of the inter-communal questions. But their report has not brought us any real solution of these questions. I fell there is something fundamentaly wrong about our conception of religion in connection with the political life of the country.

UNITE THE COUNTRY.

In order to fight the Indian Bureaucracy and the forces of British Imperilism we must do something, at least for the time being, to unite the country even on a communal basis with a view to check the mischief mongers who might betray us in hour of our need. This is to my mind, friends, is not logic. Let us have a good fighting programme based on truly National, political and economic basis. The masses, I am sure, will immediately follow your lead. And I do not think they have ever betrayed you. During the Satyagraha and non-co-operation days they and the petty burgeoisie did not cry halt. In fact they felt annoyed with you because you yourself withdrew your forces by ordering retreat at Bardoli. The question of separate electorate or communal representation or cow protection, and music before mosques, in fact all such matters which are the stock-in-trade of communalists did not trouble their minds. It is my conviction that the masses even to-day did not really care for such petty considerations of life. To them the main question is how to get bread and butter for themselves and their children. They find themselves in a condition of poverty that has brought them and theirs to the verge of starvation In spite of you and the Government, they are organising themselves to-day on a politico-economic basis, and their strikes and demonstrations are already showing wonderful signs of unity, with them there is no such thing as Hindu rights and Muslim rights. They make no such distinctions. Let me remind you that the peasants, the tillers of the soil, the labourers and the workers are the future masters of Indian destiny. Let us not at least betray them and their cause by squabbling over things which we know are not genuine and cannot hold. every communalist worth the name will tell you that communal representation is not an ideal thing to have. He wants to restain it only as a temporary measure, for fixed number of years, or till such time as his confidence is restored.

INDIA'S POLITICAL STATUS.

Friends, let me now pass on to the question of our political status. The Indian National Congress starting with humble beginnings, at last, in its Madras session declared independence as the goal of India's freedom movement. But this resolution was modified as you all know in a spirit of compromise by some of our leaders during the last session held at Calcutta. An overwhelming majority to my mind had come prepared to vote for independence, but owing to the attitude taken by the leaders, many of those present in the meeting changed their minds and voted against their better judgment at the last moment. The resolution was passed by a majority of votes—those voting against it forming a very substantial minority. It was essentially a compromise resolution and the compromise was brought about with a view to placate the moderates and to give the British Government a chance to make a definite declaration regarding their policy towards the future Government of India. The resolution demanded the establishment of the Dominion Status within 12 months, but the door to the Independence ideal was not shut. On the contrary and almost in the same breath the Congress declared its adherence to the Madras resolution and allowed the independents partly to carry on its agitation in support of its ideal. The working of that resolution is delightfully vague, as is generally the case with all compromise resolutions. The net result of the resolution, if I understand it correctly, is that if by the 31st of this month (December) the British Parliament did not send us charter (duly signed and sealed by His Majesty the King) of a full-fledged Dominion Status for India we stand pledged as honourable men to declare independence not only as an ideal for our country but our immediate objective. Two days more, friends, and the stipulated period of 12 months would pass. Hitherto the Charter has not arrived. It may still be in transit, or it may not have been sent at all.

CONVINCE THE WORLD OF OUR SINCERITY.

Therefore let us make our preparations in haste and prove to the world that we are really honest and serious-minded patriots, dreadfully in earnest, and that we mean business. This is how the world took the meaning of our resolution. This how we and our countrymen took it. This is how it has been declared by our leaders from every platform, and our Press understood and supported it. Mahatmaji himself is reported to have declared and do hope he has been correctly reported that after the 31st of December if Dominion Status is not recognised as an accomplished fact, he would declare himself an "Independencewalla".

For months together the country has remained on the tiptoe of expectation without getting any response for British Imperialism I beg your pardon, friends, I forget. We did get something in the meantime. The leaders and the members of the Conservative Party and of the Liberal Party in England and their Press ridiculed us for having dared to pass such a monstrously foolish resolution. Our dear old friends the retired Anglo-Indian of the type of Sir M O'Dwyer and other valiant knights of the sundried bureaucracy in England raised a hue and cry and in all seriousness advised the Indian Government to adopt strong repressive measures like those perhaps of the Jallianwalla Bagh. They talk of the Russian gold, of Soviet intrigues, of the incurable Hindu-Muslim differences, of the incapacity of us poor Indians to govern themselves, of the end of strong arm to protect the masses against the baneful influence of the emissaries of the 3rd International and the agents of the hot-headed irresponsible members of the Labour Party, who were carrying on a downright socialist and Communist propaganda in this preserve of British Imperialism.

VICEROY'S STATEMENT AND AFTER.

Proceeding the speaker stated:—Months passed away since the Calcutta Congress till the Viceroy on his return from England made his famous statement which raised a storm in the tea-cup. I need not go into the details of what took place after the Viceroy's statement. The speeches made in the Houses of Parliament lead us nowhere. The Conservative and Liberal leaders have certainly made their position clear. At least in their case we know where we stand. But what is the position of the Labour Party? It is true that the Secretary of State for India swore at Lloyd George and Birkenhead. He used fairly strong language of a personal nature. But that would not help matters much.

Dr. Kitchlew, Chairman of the Reception Committee.

Will any one of our Liberal or moderate reactionary friends enlighten us as to what is exact position of our country is going to attain immediately after the Simon Report is discussed in the House of Commons? In so far as that report is concerned it would be idle to expect a Durham in Sir John Simon.

It is high time, we realise the difference between the Labour Party in office and the leftwingers both in Parliament and in the country. It is true that the British Trade Union Congress at Scarborough passes the following resolutions:

"This Trade Union Congress believes that the Domination of the non-British peoples by the British Government is a form of capitalist exploitation having for its object the securing for British capitalists (1) of cheap sources of raw materials, (2) the right to exploit the cheap and unorganised labour and to use the competition of that labour to degrade the workers standards in Great Britain.

It declares the complete opposition to Imperialism and resolve (1) to support the workers in all parts of the British Empire to organise the Trade Union and the

Dr. M. A. Ansari, who figures prominently in the Congress deliberations.

political parties in order to further their interests and (2) to support the right of all people in the British Empire to self-determination including the right to choose complete separation from the Empire."

The resolution was passed in 1925 and requires no further elucidation on my part for it speaks for itself. Since 1925, the Left Wing of the Labour Party has done many things which speak favourably of their good intentions. But these things are inspite of Mr. MacDonald and his right wing in the Parliament and in the country. The sole test of the intentions of the Parliamentary Labour Party is this. Are they going to make the question of Dominion Status for India their party question just as Mr. Jladstone did in the case of Ireland? Are they prepared to fight on this issue and if defeated in Parliament to go to the electorates and seek their votes on the question of Dominion Status for India? No, Friends. No. Mr. MacDonald and his Party, they will never risk their reputation and stake their chances of holding office for our sake Then what is our position?

WIN FREEDOM BY OWN EFFORTS.

The Parliamentary Labour Party will turn round and say: "Gentlemen, we are sorry, we want to give you full-fledged Dominion Status, but the Conservatives and Liberals would not have it. Therefore, take whatever is best in the circumstance, and wait for the rest. You see we do not command a majority in the House as a single party. We are only in office but not in majority. Trust us and pray for our sweeping success in the next election. Then we assure you we shall do all in our power to get you fixed up in your Dominion Status. All that we can say at present is better luck next time." No self-respecting people will ever entertain any idea of making the future of a nation dependent on the goodwill and fortunes of an alien political party of a Domineering nation. India's freedom can be attained only through India's efforts. History of nations that have attained their freedom as well as history of our own political struggle tell us that self-reliance, sacrifice and suffering are only aids to Swaraj.

Friends, Let us therefore face facts and frame our programme. Briefly stated, the main factors of our problem are firstly, the continuance of alien domination constitutes such bleeding of masses that there can be no tinkering with the question of our national freedom.

Secondly, self-reliance, sacrifice and suffering are the only methods for attainment of our freedom.

Thirdly, our programme of action must be broadcasted so that we may mobilise peasants and workers of India who are the real backbone of the country.

NATIONAL PROGRAMME IN NUTSHELL.

Viewing the national problem as I do, I would submit for your consideration the following for formulation of our national programme.

1. The Congress should declare complete Independence as its immediate objective.
2. Complete boycott of legislatures.
3. Organisation of a national army of workers with a view to co-ordinate and combine different workers and peasants organisations as also youth organisations.
4. The organisation of a permanent body of full-time national workers paid as well as honorary.
5. Organisation of mass civil disobedience as well as individual civil disobedience in selected areas under the direction of a compact and small Central Committee of action with full powers of control.

I have now concluded. I shall say only a word of appeal. My appeal is firstly to Mahatmaji. He is the one leader in whom the masses have faith. He is one leader who commands nation-wide respect and affection I appeal to Mahatmaji to lead us in our struggle for attainment of national independence. The country is ripe for action It is ripe for suffering and sacrifices. Non-co-operation programme of Nagpur Congress gave the country a militant and dynamic programme. The country responsed wonderfully. It is at this time the Chauri Chaura incident led to a sudden suspension of the programme which severely disappointed the workers and the country and played havoc with the morale of the country. To-day, we are once again on the eve of a period of dynamic action. I appeal to Mahatmaji pray come and lead us: we are ready; but let there be no repetition of the Chhuri Chaura incident and no turning back. Once we get our feet onward, let our slogan be "Onward" until the goal is reached.

I have also a word to say to our Youth. The country looks to them to fight the battle of Swaraj. The Youth are the makers of History. In every country, it is upto the Youth to act in a spirit of "not less oblige."

The acceptance of Mahatmaji's leadership carries with it an obligation on the soldiers of the nation,—the obligation to be non-violent, to be disciplined, to be loyal to the ideals of national movement. I have done.

It is now my pleasant duty to accord on behalf of you all a hearty welcome to Pandit Jawharlal Nehru. Panditji and I were contemporaries at Cambridge although you would not suspect it seeing how gray I have grown. Our comradeship which began at Cambridge has continued in the service of the common cause. Pandit Jawharlal is the embodiment of the ideals, courage and sacrifice of the youth of the try.—Free Press

CONGRATULATIONS.

—:o:—

Mr. Shapurji Congresswala has sent the following Telegram to Pundit Jawarhalal.

"Congratulatione Son Succeeding Father by Presidentship. Thank God that Viceroy's Safety Frees Congress Inconceivable Entanglements Cannot Attend Physically due indisposition But in Spirit Associating Ensure Congress Very Brilliant Success Mahatmaji Motilalji Dr. Kitchlew Malaviyaji Srinivas Iyengar All other Congress Brothren Very Happy New Year And Long Life".

Rains In Central Australia.

—:o:—

LONDON, Dec. 28.

Melbourne.—The seven years' drought in Central Australia has at length been broken. Immensely beneficial rains have fallen throughout Australia. Very heavy downfalls occurred n Victoria South Australia and New South Wales and much damage has been done to railways thereby.—Reuter.

ORTHODOXY MUST GIVE WAY.

—:o:—

FAR-REACHING EFFECTS OF SARDA ACT.

Travancore Social Reform Conference.

NAGERCOIL, Dec. 28.

Mr. P. T. Rajan, M.L.C. who opened the All-Travancore Social Reforms Conference, in the course of his address, paid a tribute to the Maharani-Regent for the interest Her Highness takes in all that pertains to the welfare of her subjects, and stressed the need for paying as much attention to social moral and economic problems as for political problems. He deplored the inequality in their social system which stood in the way of their progress.

He then referred to the far-reaching effects of social legislations like the Sarda Child Marriage Act, and the Hindu Religious Endowments' Act recently passed. He thought that although orthodoxy could check progress in social reform for a time, it is inevitable that they will have to give way to progressive ideas in the long run. Although the enemies of progress in any form or shape based their arguments mostly on religious grounds, he declared that true religion would not aim at perpetuating inequality between man and man. Further he was of opinion that social reform was to be effected by slow degrees by educating the people, and not by legal enactments only.

Yesterday's evening session of the All-Travancore Social Reform Conference met at its special pandal at 6 p.m., Rao Bahadur M. K. Reddi presiding. Smt. Thamatis Manogaram and Mathuralam, two sisters of Trivandrum entertained the whole audience to good Tamil music for about two hours. Mr. K. A. P. Viswanatham of Trichinopoly delivered a speech after which the day's session was brought to a close at 9 p.m.

DELHI BOMB OUTRAGE CONDEMNED.

The All-Travancore Social Reform Conference which re-assembled this morning under the presidency of Rao Bhaadur M. K. Reddi passed the resolutions expressing joy at the narrow escape of H. E. the Viceroy from the recent bomb outrage and condemned the perpetrators of this barbarious and dastardly deed, and asserting that it is the right of every Hindu to enter all temples dedicated for public worship and appointing a committee to give effect to the resolution.

AGAINST SOCIAL INEQUALITIES

The resolutions passed by the Subjects Committee yesterday was taken up for discussion in the All-Travancore Social Reform Conference. The resolution which much discussion was the one referring to the appointment of Tamil Brahmins in Travancore as Dewans and Dewan Commissioners, as such appointments, it was alleged, tended to perpetuate social inequalities. This resolution, when put to vote, was carried by an overwhelming majority.—Free Press.

Shia Conference Over.

—:o:—

COMMITTEE TO TAKE MEASURES FOR COMPULSORY PRIMARY EDUCATION.

ALLAHABAD, Dec. 28.

The All-India Shia Conference ended to-day after recording a large number of resolutions most of which related to certain Wakfs and Shia institutions. It also formed a committees to consider measures for compulsory primary education of Muslims boys and girls.

A protest against Balfour Declaration was also recorded.—Free Press.

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